

which span the critical period ranging from early adolescence through to some point in the middle of the productive years. The data to be employed in this analysis, however, have this important feature, being detailed life histories collected from a national sample of males who were between the ages of 30 and 39 in 1968. The life histories are retrospective, obtained from personal interviews in 1968, and contain data on family backgrounds as well as detailed accounts of jobs held and family status changes experienced from age fourteen up to the time they were interviewed. A more precise description of the techniques employed to gather these life histories and of the sample used is given elsewhere.

Throughout the paper we will pay special attention to class and race differences. The experiences of Negroes and whites are so different and are conditioned so heavily by background factors such as parental social status and individual educational attainment that there cannot be said to be a single typical mode of entry into the labor force. Indeed, it was in anticipation of strong racial differences that the sample was designed to oversample blacks in order to provide sufficient case bases to make reliable comparisons between the two major racial groups in this country.

The first step in the analysis of entry is to develop a useful operational definition of the point at which an individual enters the labor market. We consider a set of alternatives and choose one that we think has decided advantages over the others.

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 042 055

24

VT 011 630

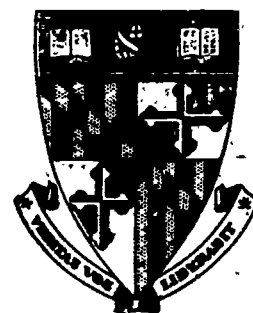
AUTHOR Ornstein, Michael D.; Rossi, Peter H.
TITLE Going to Work: An Analysis of the Determinants and Consequences of Entry into the Labor Force.
INSTITUTION Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.; Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
REPORT NO R-75
BUREAU NO BR-6-1610
PUB DATE Aug 70
GRANT OEG-2-7-061610-0207
NOTE 79p.
EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.50 HC-\$4.05
DESCRIPTORS Comparative Analysis, Cultural Background, Educational Background, *Educationally Disadvantaged, *Employment Opportunities, Entry Workers, Equal Opportunities (Jobs), *Negro Employment, *Promotion (Occupational), *Racial Discrimination, Sampling

ABSTRACT

To trace the process whereby Americans enter the labor force, work and education histories were collected from a random sample of about 1,600 Americans, with blacks oversampled. The two variables examined most closely were race and social class. The level of entry into the labor force as measured by occupational prestige was found to be strongly affected by the race and educational attainment of the individual; for whites it was also affected by pre-entry work experience. Social class had little effect. When subsequent jobs were examined, the process of entry was shown to have a continuing and significant effect on occupational attainment; while the effect of educational attainment quickly diminished, that of previous jobs increased, particularly for blacks. Controlling for educational experience and family background status, blacks are clearly disadvantaged. They are successively worse off compared to whites at each stage of their occupational histories; the more schooling they receive, the greater the gap. These last findings are taken as evidence of institutional racism in the American labor market. (Author/BH)

ED042055

BR 6-1610
PA 24
VT



THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

REPORT No. 75

THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLS

GOING TO WORK: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DETERMINANTS
AND CONSEQUENCES OF ENTRY INTO THE LABOR FORCE

MICHAEL D. ORNSTEIN

PETER H. ROSSI

AUGUST, 1970

STAFF

John L. Holland, Director

James M. McPartland, Assistant Director

Virginia Bailey

Thelma Baldwin

Zahava D. Blum

Judith P. Clark

Karen C. Cohen

James S. Coleman

Robert L. Crain

David DeVries

Keith Edwards

Doris R. Entwisle

James Fennessey

Catherine J. Garvey

Ellen Greenberger

John T. Guthrie

Rubie Harris

Edward J. Harsch

Robert T. Hogan

Marian Hoover

Thomas Houston

Michael Inbar

Nancy L. Karweit^①

Judith Kennedy

Steven Kidder

Hao-Mei Kuo

Samuel Livingston

Edward L. McDill

Rebecca J. Muraro

Jeanne O'Connor

Martha O. Roseman

Peter H. Rossi

Joan Sauer

Leslie Schnuelle

Christine Schulze

Aage B. Sørensen

Annemette Sørensen

Julian C. Stanley

Clarice S. Stoll

Mary Viernstein

Murray A. Webster

Barbara J. Williams

Phyllis K. Wilson

GOING TO WORK: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DETERMINANTS
AND CONSEQUENCES OF ENTRY INTO THE LABOR FORCE

Michael D. Ornstein

Peter H. Rossi

August, 1970

The Johns Hopkins University

Published by the Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, supported in part as a research and development center by funds from the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The research reported herein was supported through Grant No. OEG-2-7-061610-0207. The analysis was performed partially with support from the Office of Economic Opportunity through contract B 99-4885. The opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of either supporting agency and no official endorsement should be inferred.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION
& WELFARE

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR
ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF
VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECES-
SARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDU-
CATION POSITION OR POLICY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	i
List of Tables	ii
I: Introduction	1
II: Previous Research on Entry into the Labor Force.	4
III: The Data	9
IV: Definition of Entry Point	10
V: Educational Attainment and Age Upon Entry into the Labor Force	12
VI: Pre-Entry Work Experience	17
VII: Obtaining the First Job after Entry	23
VIII: Characteristics of the First Job after Entry	27
IX: Life Cycle Changes and Entry	33
X: An Explanatory Note on Method	37
XI: Factors Affecting the Prestige Level of Entry Jobs	44
XII: Effects of Entry Factors on Subsequent Occupational Attainment	53
XIII: Accounting for Prestige of Occupations Held a Decade after Entry.	61
XIV: Summary	69
Footnotes.	72

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Educational Attainment by Race at Entry into the Labor Force and Start of First and Second Jobs after Entry into the Labor Force	13
Table 2	Age at Time of Entry into the Labor Force by Educational Attainment	15
Table 3	Pre-Entry Full-Time Work Experiences of Blacks and Whites by Educational Attainment at Entry Point	18
Table 4	Pre-Entry Part-Time Experiences of Blacks and Whites by Educational Attainment at Entry Point	21
Table 5	Employment and Unemployment after Entry into the Labor Force by Educational Level and Race	24
Table 6	How First Jobs Were Found by Race and Educational Attainment (Excluding Military Service)	26
Table 7	Selected Characteristics of First Job by Race and Educational Attainment at Entry Point	28
Table 8	Duration of First Job after Entry by Race and Educational Attainment	32
Table 9	Changes in Marital Status at Entry into Labor Force by Race and Educational Attainment	35
Table 10	Educational Attainment at Entry by Social Class Background Variables, by Race	41
Table 11	Prestige of First Job, Social Class Background, Pre-Entry Employment, and Educational Attainment, by Race	46
Table 12	Prestige Scores of First Jobs by Educational Attainment, at Start of First Jobs by Educational Attainment and End of Second Job by Race	50
Table 13a	Prestige Scores of First Jobs by Means of Finding Jobs, by Educational Attainment and Race	52

Table 13b	Analysis of Variance	52
Table 14	Average Prestige Scores and Durations of First Through Fifth Jobs, by Race	55
Table 15	Relative Effects of Educational Attainment and Prestige of Previous Jobs on Higher Order Jobs, by Race	58
Table 16	Prestige Scores of Third Job after Entry by Background Factors and Prestige of Previous Jobs, by Race	60
Table 17a	Prestige Scores of Job Held Ten Years after Entry by Means Used to Find First Job, by Race and Educational Attainment	63
Table 17b	Analysis of Variance	63
Table 18a	Prestige Scores of Jobs Held Ten Years after Entry by Industry of Entry Job, by Race and Education	64
Table 18b	Analysis of Variance	65
Table 19	Prestige Scores of Job Held Ten Years after Entry by Means Used to Find First Jobs, by Race and Educational Attainment	68

I: Introduction

"The investigators in San Jose were left with the definite impression that chance has much to do with "landing" the first permanent job. For many a boy in the sample this first job had a decisive effect upon his subsequent occupational career, and the assignment of so dominating a role to mere chance presumably often has unfortunate results..."

Percy E. Davidson & H. Dewey Anderson in Occupational Mobility in an American Community, 1937*

"...most youngsters (and their parents) approach the choice of first job with no clear conception of where they were going; the great majority of first jobs were found in a very informal way, preponderantly through relatives and friends; the great majority of youngsters took the first jobs they found and did not make comparisons with any other job; their knowledge of the job before they took it was extremely meager and in most cases the job turned out to be a blind alley which did not lead to anything better."

Lloyd G. Reynolds in The Structure of Labor Markets, 1951*

"Three major generalizations sum up much of the research on factors affecting occupational careers. First, despite the net upward mobility which prevails in industrial societies, there is some tendency for men to inherit the occupational status levels of their fathers. Second, people are strongly influenced by the advice of significant others when they select jobs and choose occupational aspiration levels. Third, the general values which people hold are systematically related to their aspiration levels and to the kinds of occupations they choose."

Richard L. Simpson and Ida Harper, "Social Origins, Occupational Advice, Occupational Values and Work Careers." in Social Forces, March, 1962*

For the cohort aged 26 to 35, the simple correlation between the occupational prestige of an individual's first job and the educational attainment of that person was .574, that between the occupational prestige of his first job and his occupational prestige at the time of interview was .584.

Figures taken from Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The Americans Occupational Structure, 1967*

* Complete citations are to be found in the footnotes attached to this paper.

Sooner or later, all American males enter the labor force. The exceptions to this generalization are so few that the statement is a truism. The significance of entry into the labor force lies in the variation among men in the points in their life cycles at which entry occurs, in the levels of the occupational system they enter, and in the modes through which their first jobs are obtained. These variations and their consequences for later occupational attainment are the central concerns of this paper.

Anticipating the findings to be presented, it will be made abundantly clear that the variations among men are systematically related to their race, social class origins, and educational attainments. It will also be shown that there are moderately strong consequences for subsequent occupational attainment. These are findings which have been asserted by previous research, as the excerpts in the epigraph of this report indicate. The contribution of this report lies not in the novelty of results, but in the degree of specificity in which the findings are given. Using modern methods of multivariate analysis, we will present quantitative estimates of the contributions that various background characteristics make to the entry period and estimates of how much difference is made to subsequent occupational careers.

In large part, previous analyses of the entry period have been handicapped by not having longitudinal data on occupational careers,

which span the critical period ranging from early adolescence through to some point in the middle of the productive years. The data to be employed in this analysis, however, have this important feature, being detailed life histories collected from a national sample of males who were between the ages of 30 and 39 in 1968. The life histories are retrospective, obtained from personal interviews in 1968, and contain data on family backgrounds as well as detailed accounts of jobs held and family status changes experienced from age fourteen up to the time they were interviewed. A more precise description of the techniques employed to gather these life histories and of the sample used is given elsewhere.

Throughout the paper we will pay special attention to class and race differences. The experiences of Negroes and whites are so different and are conditioned so heavily by background factors such as parental social status and individual educational attainment that there cannot be said to be a single typical mode of entry into the labor force. Indeed, it was in anticipation of strong racial differences that the sample was designed to oversample blacks in order to provide sufficient case bases to make reliable comparisons between the two major racial groups in this country.

The first step in the analysis of entry is to develop a useful operational definition of the point at which an individual enters the labor market. We consider a set of alternatives and choose one that we think has decided advantages over the others.

With an entry point fixed for each individual, we can then provide descriptions of the experiences which precede and those which follow the point of entry. Special attention will be paid to shifts in marital status, previous work experience and the interruption of education.

Finally, an analysis will be presented bearing on the importance of modes of entry for subsequent occupational attainment. Here we will attempt to show how parental background, educational experience and mode of entry affect occupational attainment as of the end of the decade following entry point.

II: Previous Research on Entry into the Labor Force

The first three excerpts given at the beginning of this paper go a long way toward summarizing the results of research conducted on this problem up to 1967. Davidson and Anderson¹ reporting in 1937 on one of the first large surveys concerned with the American occupational structure, characterized the entry period as one of "floundering." At the same time their results showed that there were strong systematic differences among individuals of different skill levels. Although there is no logical contradiction between the characterization of the period as "floundering" and the findings concerning systematic class and educational attainment differences, Davidson and Anderson, like the researchers who follow them, display an attitude approaching ambivalence in their discussions of the entry period. On

the one hand, they describe the period as being one in which the individual connects with his first job. by a process determined mainly by chance and luck. On the other hand, they document that the sons of the well-to-do enter the labor force at much higher levels than the sons of the poor.

The portrait of the entry period that emerges from Davidson and Anderson's study is one that subsequent studies over the next thirty years have done little to change. Entry is a process marked by a great deal of variation among individuals, yet social class, educational attainment and other factors exert unmistakably strong influences on modes of entry.

Perhaps the most important focus for research within the entry period itself has been on the ways in which new jobs are located. A number of studies² bearing on this topic have shown that workers seeking jobs do not spend much time on the job search. Informal contacts, relatives, friends and fellow workers, all relatively passive means, are found to be of great importance in finding new jobs.

Attempting to explain why workers do not invest more time in or make more systematic attempts to find good jobs but instead take one of the first few they find, Stigler³ provides a simple and compelling explanation that reveals an underlying rationality to this strategy. He shows that if the variance in the quality and salaries of the jobs available is not large for an individual with a given level of educational attainment and skill, then the marginal utility of finding addi-

✓

tional job openings to consider, after the first three or four, is very small. The cost, however, of locating an additional opening remains uniform. The logical conclusion is that there is little to gain from an extensive job hunt.

Another consistent finding has been that persons with lower levels of skill and formal education have more difficulty in finding jobs and that when they do find them the jobs are likely to have both low occupational prestige and low income.⁴ Studies show that less well educated persons receive less and lower quality vocational advice, partly a result of their coming from poorer social backgrounds--ones that are less able to provide the contacts to get good jobs.⁵ In all of these studies the direct effects of parental social class and indirect effects on levels of formal education are the dominant variables, among the correlates of labor market behavior.

Work in the fields of stratification and occupational structure took a qualitative step forward with the publication of Blau and Duncan's The American Occupational Structure⁶ in 1967. The use of a very large sample, numbering over twenty thousand American men between the ages of twenty and sixty-four, combined with their coding the occupational prestige scores of the respondents' first jobs on entering the labor market, their jobs at the time of the interview, and their fathers' occupations, made possible accurate calculations of the effects of different factors in determining an individual's place in the occupational structure. The development of an occupational prestige scale, that is

known to have remained very stable over the past half century,⁷ made it possible to use powerful multiple regression techniques in the place of tabular methods. These occupational prestige scores have been shown to behave in a linear fashion, a further aid in most analysis.

For our purpose here, Blau and Duncan's most important finding was that the occupational prestige of the first job a respondent had on entering the labor force was an important determinant of the prestige scores of the jobs he had later in life, controlling both for the effect of the socioeconomic status of his family of origin and his educational attainment. A combination of multiple regression techniques and a large national sample allow Blau and Duncan conclusively to establish this fact and hence the importance of the entry period in any analysis of occupational structure in the United States. Of course, these data do nothing to describe the processes of entry itself, beyond proving that it is important.

Career Thresholds, by Parnes et al.,⁸ also reports on data from a large national sample with detailed data on the entry period. This preliminary report goes little farther than the presentation of marginals for the data of the first year of a five year panel study of a national sample of males, aged initially 14-24. So far Parnes has not attempted either to present a theoretical framework for analysis or to use multivariate techniques to untangle the effects of different variables. Parnes provides many cross-tabulations showing the relationship between race, socioeconomic status, educational attainment, and age run against

occupation, aspirations, job satisfaction, and knowledge of the labor market. Predictably, the older, white, better educated individuals from higher status families have better jobs, experience less unemployment, know more about the job market, and have higher occupational and educational aspirations.

Taken together, all of these studies reveal that the entry period has an extremely important influence on the course of an individual's occupational career. This general finding shows through despite the variation from study to study in the populations being studied, in the time periods involved, and in the statistical techniques employed. Although much more sophisticated and detailed analyses can be expected to come from the Parnes study, so far very little is known about the process of entry. Indeed, from one study to the next, there is even some difficulty in squaring the varying definitions of the entry point itself. For example, Parnes defines entry as the first full-time job after completion of high school, while Blau and Duncan leave it up to the respondent to define what was his first full-time job.

The survey of previous literature points up several deficiencies in our knowledge concerning the entry point. First, there is need for a definition of this point which has face validity and can be easily applied in operational form. Secondly, the early studies suffer from employing samples which are not drawn from useful universes. Hence, to make progress it is necessary to move to universes that are at least

free of regional and local variation. Thirdly, full advantage needs to be taken of modern data handling techniques and methods of statistical analysis. Fourthly, the analysis should be process oriented in the sense of investigating the impact of statuses at one point in time on statuses at a later point. We hope that this paper will start to fill in these gaps in our knowledge of entry into the labor force.

III: The Data

The data consist of a set of 1589 interviews with American men between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine at the time of the interview (the first months of 1969). The respondents were drawn using probability sampling techniques from the American population of these men.⁹ In order to facilitate the comparison of blacks and whites,* blacks were over-sampled so that they occur about four times as frequently in the sample as they do in the population. Restricting the men to these in a comparatively narrow range of ages and the knowledge that these individuals entered the labor market during a period of quite uniform demand make it possible for us to ignore cohort effects, at least in this analysis. The instrument employed is of a unique design. Interviewers recorded, on the questionnaire, in a fashion so as to yield longitudinal data,

*Throughout this paper, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Japanese, American Indians, etc. are classified in the "white" group. They constitute only 3.3% of the total whites.

all respondents' full and part-time educational and employment experience, including the wage, occupation, and industry of the jobs, how they were obtained and the reason for leaving them. In addition, the composition of the respondent's dwelling unit and hence his family, his geographical location, his feeling about the adequacy of his income, and a number of other variables were obtained. Important static variables, such as the respondent's father's educational attainment and occupation were collected. Wherever possible the race of the interviewer and the respondent were matched.

IV: Definition of Entry Point

Although many persons have rather straightforward patterns of entry into the labor force in which the first job is held only after the completion of a conventional unit of education (e.g., graduation from high school), there are significant proportions of individuals who have more complicated histories. Some of the complications include temporary summer employment while attending school during the regular academic year, part-time employment, and patterns of interruptions in schooling to participate in the labor force on a full-time basis. Some individuals who held full-time employment at the same time attended school on a full-time basis. Yet, sooner or later, almost all American males settle into a pattern of full-time participation in the labor force interrupted by periods of unemployment, bouts of illness, and the like.

We wished to develop a definition of the time point at which an individual makes a commitment to participation in the labor force.

The definition had to satisfy the following criteria:

1. Short term entry into the labor market, followed by a return to full-time schooling (as occurs for each "summer job" while he is in school) was not to be treated as entry into the labor market;
2. Entry had to be marked by the individual's leaving school for a prolonged period of time;
3. The definition was not to be tied to chronological age, since entry into the labor force can take place at any age beyond sixteen, the commonly defined legal limit of compulsory school attendance; and
4. It had to be easily applied to our data.

The definition which satisfies the above conditions is as follows: the point of entry into the labor force is that point in time at which an individual leaves full-time education and enters the labor force for a period of more than sixteen months without re-entering full-time education during that period. Note that this definition exempts summer employment and dropping out of school for one academic year plus a summer and defines commitment to labor force participation as participation for a period longer than sixteen months.

Obviously, there is a degree of arbitrariness in this definition, as in almost all operational definitions. Perhaps its major drawback lies in its treatment of military service as full-time employment, so that a person's being interrupted in schooling by being drafted is interpreted as leading him to enter the labor force, even though he had

intentions of resuming full-time education after completion of his military service. However, given the fact that educational exemptions were given out rather freely during the period in question, we feel that such cases are small in number.

V: Educational Attainment and Age Upon Entry into the Labor Force

A majority of the men interviewed entered the labor force upon the completion of a conventional unit of education, i.e., upon graduation from elementary, high school, college or the completion of an advanced degree, as shown in the first two columns of Table 1. Significant differences in this respect appear between the two racial groups; 62.7% of the white as compared to 39.8% of the blacks enter the labor force upon the completion of a conventional unit. For both blacks and whites, the modal point of entry occurs upon graduation from high school; 42.2% of the whites and 29.2% of the blacks enter at that point. The median point of entry for whites is upon completion of high school with 42.2% of the whites entering here; the mode point for blacks entering the labor force is after some high schooling when 35.4% enter.

The most striking--and also the most expected--feature of the array of educational attainments shown in Table 1 is the strong differences between the two racial groups. Whites tend to enter the labor force after considerably greater amounts of educational attainment and to enter at the point of completion of an educational unit. Blacks enter with less education and most often break off before completing educational units.

Table 1. Educational Attainment by Race at Entry into the Labor Force and at Start of First and Second Jobs after Entry into the Labor Force

Educational Attainment*	At Entry		At Start of			
			First Job		Second Job	
	W	B	W	B	W	B
Four Years or Less	1.6%	4.8%	6.0%	10.2%	1.5%	4.7%
Five to Seven Years	4.7	13.2	4.3	12.2	4.4	13.4
Completed Elementary School	9.2	7.1	11.4	8.0	9.3	6.8
TOTAL ELEMENTARY OR LESS	<u>15.5</u>	<u>25.1</u>	<u>21.7</u>	<u>30.4</u>	<u>15.2</u>	<u>25.9</u>
Some High School	21.1	35.4	19.1	33.4	18.4	33.2
High School Graduate	42.2	29.2	39.4	6.9	42.3	30.5
High School Graduation Plus Vocational Training	0.7	0.4	1.0	0.5	2.5	1.2
Some College	9.8	6.7	8.7	5.7	10.1	6.5
College Graduate	7.9	3.3	7.5	2.8	8.2	3.0
M.A. Degree or Equivalent	1.2	0.1	1.1	0.1	1.1	0.0
Some Graduate Training but No Advanced Degree	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Ph.D. or Professional Degree	1.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.3	0.1
100% =	(849)	(736)	(850)	(737)	(814)	(700)

* Note that our respondents have slightly more educational attainment at the point of entry into the labor force than at the start of the first job. This results from small numbers of respondents starting their first job, which lasts after entry, before leaving school, thus participating in both activities at the same time for a period.

Entering the labor force does not put an end to formal education, as the contrast between the last two columns of Table 1 with the first two columns indicates. By the time our respondents have entered upon their second jobs, some shifts in educational attainment have occurred. Between the start of the first and second jobs, the number without high school diplomas has dropped from 21.7% to 15.2% among whites and from 30.4% to 25.9% among blacks. The major sources of this change are part-time schooling, education obtained during military service and the fact that some individuals begin their first jobs lasting past the entry point before leaving full-time schooling, carrying on both the activities simultaneously for a time.

Because the educational attainment levels achieved by whites and blacks differ so strikingly, as shown in Table 1, and because educational level has so strong an impact upon occupational life, in tables to follow we will ordinarily show statistics for educational levels separately or hold education constant in multivariate analyses. The three educational levels we will ordinarily use are shown in Table 2. The categories correspond roughly to completion of major stages in the American educational system. Note particularly that the number of blacks who have completed college at time of entry into the labor force is quite small (24 cases out of 738) so that statistics shown for black college graduates will be less reliable than statistics shown for any of the other groups.

Table 2. Age at Time of Entry into the Labor Force by Educational Attainment

Educational Attainment at Entry into Labor Force	Average Age for					
	Whites			N	Blacks		N
	<u>Yrs.</u>	<u>Mos.</u>		<u>Yrs.</u>	<u>Mos.</u>	
Did Not Complete High School	15	10	(311)	16	3	(444)
High School Graduate or Some College (no degree)	18	6	(447)	18	7	(267)
College Graduate or Grad- uate Education	22	10	(89)	22	0	(27)
Average for Total Group	18	0		17	4	
Median for Total Group	18	4		17	4	

Looking within the three educational attainment categories in Table 2, we find that whites and blacks enter the labor force at very much the same ages. The exception is for those who graduate from college--on the average the whites in this category enter about a year later than the corresponding group of blacks. This is no doubt due to the fact that more of the whites proceed to further study at the graduate and professional levels.

Typical entry into the labor force occurs within a year of one's eighteenth birthday. Those who receive more schooling obviously enter at later ages. For both races without high school diplomas, the average age at entry is approximately sixteen years; for high school graduates the average age is eighteen and a half years. The mean age on entry for white college graduates is twenty-two years and ten months; blacks in this category average just about twenty-two years of age when they enter.

The typical pattern of entry for white males is to complete a unit of education before going into the labor market for an extensive period of time. Since most typically finish high school and few go further, this means that the modal white male enters the labor force at the time of high school graduation. The pattern of entry for blacks shows much less modality. Fairly large proportions of blacks enter before the completion of either elementary school or high school. Although some do manage to obtain additional education, apparently through part-time education and while in military service, the proportion who finish high school remains still considerably lower than that of whites.

VI: Pre-Entry Work Experience

The definition of entry into the labor force which we have constructed does not preclude work experiences before entry. Indeed, three out of five (61%) whites have had part-time employment and/or full-time employment before their entry points; the corresponding proportion for blacks is 34%. Of course these proportions are highly affected by the age of entry into the labor force: the older he is at the time of labor force entry, the more opportunities a respondent has had to hold summer time or other short term commitment positions. The lower educational attainment of blacks and their correspondingly earlier age at entry means that they have had less opportunity to obtain short term employment before making a major commitment to the labor force.

Data on the full-time jobs held by respondents before they entered the labor force are shown in Table 3. Because the major pre-entry activity of our respondents was full-time attendance at school, most of the full-time positions were held during summer vacations.* As we have intimated above, the longer an individual has postponed entry into the labor force the more likely he is to have had some full-time employment experience before entry. Thus, among whites, 14.8% of those who have not graduated from high school, 43.0% of those who have completed high school, and 90% of those who have gone to college

*The median duration time for pre-entry full-time jobs is 3.0 months for both whites and blacks, indicating that such jobs were most likely held during the typical three month school vacations.

Table 3. Pre-Entry Full-Time Work Experiences of Blacks and Whites
by Educational Attainment at Entry Point

Full-Time Jobs Held Before Entry	Did Not Complete High School		High School Graduate		College Graduate	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Held at Least One Full- Time Job	14.8%	7.9%	43.0%	21.4%	90.2%	44.0%
Average Number of Jobs	.31	.16	1.29	.64	4.65	1.68
Average Time in Jobs (Months)	1.5	1.3	4.7	3.1	17.4	5.7
Average Prestige Scores of Jobs	22.2	21.0	23.9	21.8	30.9	23.9
Number of cases	(311)	(444)	(447)	(267)	(91)	(25)

have held at least one full-time job before entry into the labor force. The same pattern obtains for blacks, except that at each level of educational attainment, blacks are only about half as likely to have held a full-time job before entry.

Not only are whites more likely to have held full-time jobs, they also get better jobs, as the last line in Table 3 indicates. Furthermore, the higher the educational level, the greater the gap between whites and blacks in the prestige scores* of the full-time jobs held before entry.

In order to interpret what these scores mean in terms of occupational levels, it is useful to consider the scores obtained by a few occupations representative of different levels of the occupational system, as follows:

1. Janitor . . . . .	.16.1
2. Unskilled Laborer . . . . .	.18.4
3. Assemblers . . . . .	.27.1
4. Painter . . . . .	.29.8
5. Auto Mechanic . . . . .	.36.7
6. Barber . . . . .	.37.0
7. Tailor . . . . .	.41.2
8. Bookkeeper . . . . .	.47.6
9. Skilled Machinist . . . . .	.47.8
10. Medical Technician . . . . .	.61.0
11. Physician . . . . .	.81.5

*Prestige scores are average ratings given to occupations by samples of the American population. The scores represent the consensus of American society concerning the social status of occupations. Such scores are used throughout this report because they provide a quantitative dimension for occupations which has been shown to be remarkably stable over time and over different groups within the American population.

It can easily be seen that the full-time jobs held by our respondents tend to be on the lowest levels of the occupational structure, as one might expect from both the inexperience of the respondents at the time and the fact that the jobs are temporary. Even the temporary jobs of college students tend to be lower on the average in prestige than the position of skilled machinist.

Corresponding data for part-time employment during the pre-entry period are shown in Table 4. Part-time employment is much more compatible with going to school than full-time employment, and hence as we might anticipate the level of part-time employment during the pre-entry period is higher. Nearly half of the whites and one out of every four blacks had some part-time employment experience in the pre-entry period.*

The pattern of relationships displayed in Table 4 is very similar to that of Table 3, indicating that the more educational experience a respondent has had (and hence the greater opportunity), the more likely he was to have had some part-time employment before entering the labor force. Again, whites are much more likely to have held part-time positions than blacks, with the ratio of the average numbers of such jobs being of the order of 2 to 1 in favor of whites.

The average amount of time spent in part-time employment is, of

* Precise proportions for whites and blacks are as follows:

	<u>Held at Least One Position During Pre-Entry</u>	
	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>
Full-Time Positions	38%	14%
Part-Time Positions	46%	25%

Table 4. Pre-Entry Part-Time Experiences of Blacks and Whites
by Educational Attainment at Entry Point

Part-Time Jobs Held Before Entry	Did Not Complete High School		High School Graduate		College Graduate	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Held at Least One Part- Time Job	29.3%	18.1%	54.6%	33.0%	66.0%	60.0%
Average Number of Jobs	.46	.25	1.27	.77	2.74	1.12
Average Time in Jobs (Months)	5.8	4.3	15.5	11.4	33.5	24.0
Average Prestige Scores of Jobs	20.4	20.5	23.1	19.8	29.1	27.1
Number of Cases	(311)	(444)	(447)	(267)	(91)	(25)

course, considerably higher than in the case of full-time employment. For example, white college students have spent on the average nearly three years and black college graduates slightly more than two years at one or another part-time position.

The prestige positions of the part-time jobs held by respondents are about the same as in the full-time positions. In short, these are low level jobs involving low skill levels and undoubtedly low remuneration. Their average prestige scores are slightly below those of the full-time positions held, but even if those differences were statistically significant, they would not represent salient differences in prestige.

The pre-entry experiences of our sample indicate that a large proportion have had experience with holding a part-time or temporary full-time job before leaving full-time education to make a major commitment to work. The longer the educational experience, the more likely the respondent was to have had such pre-entry job experiences. Indeed, most college graduates have been into and out of the labor force several times by the time they receive their B.A.'s. The jobs held are close to the bottom of the social status ladder, being the kinds of jobs that can be held by temporary help with miscellaneous skills and little experience. These are jobs which do not appear to be the sort that would lead to occupational careers, especially for those with at least a few years of formal schooling.

VII: Obtaining the First Job after Entry

Once having left full-time education, our respondents found jobs rather quickly, as Table 5 indicates. Some, especially the poorly educated, apparently dropped out of school in order to retain the jobs they held prior to leaving school. The top row of Table 5 indicates that about one in five of males who did not complete high school continued jobs they had held prior to leaving full-time education on entry into the labor force. Much smaller proportions of high school and college graduates manifested this pattern, both among whites and blacks.

Around half of the respondents found jobs within a month after entering the labor force, with larger proportions of whites doing so than blacks. Especially disadvantaged in this respect were black college graduates, although it should be borne in mind that the number of cases on which this finding is based is very small.

Among those who were unemployed for more than a month, blacks were unemployed for longer periods of time and the length of unemployment for this racial group increased with the level of educational attainment.

For those who did not enter the labor force within a month after leaving school, the average length of unemployment is about six months for whites and ten months for blacks. The distributions are very skewed, the median times with no jobs are three and four months for whites and

Table 5. Employment and Unemployment after Entry into the Labor Force by Educational Level and Race

How First Job Was Found	Did Not Complete High School		High School Graduate		College Graduate	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Employed at Job Held Prior to Entry	7.0%	9.0%	11.4%	11.2%	13.1%	8.0%
Found New Job Within One Month After Entry	64.6	67.7	68.0	59.1	65.9	36.0
Unemployed One to Six Months	18.0	12.0	26.1	30.7	28.8	44.0
Unemployed Six Months or More*	18.4	20.3	5.9	10.2	5.5	20.0
Average Number of Months Unemployed	4.5	4.6	1.4	2.3	1.5	3.3
Number of cases	(311)	(444)	(447)	(267)	(91)	(25)

* These percentages are included in the line above.

blacks respectively.

Not all were so fortunate, however. There are still significant proportions who experienced six or more months of unemployment, as the fourth row of Table 5 indicates. The incidence of such long term unemployment periods following entry is especially high among the least educated groups, among those who have completed less than high school education. 18% of the whites and 20% of the blacks have not found a job six months after leaving school. Blacks appear to be more likely to experience long periods of unemployment, with the college educated equally likely to do so. (Again, one must be wary of the small number of college educated blacks in our sample.)

The ways in which respondents found their first jobs are shown in Table 6. Note that friends and relatives are apparently the most commonly employed channels of information, although direct application to employers (the largest category* included in "other means") is also important. There are larger differences among the three educational levels in these respects than between the two racial groups. The lower educational levels tend to rely more on friends and relatives, and the higher educational groups use more active and impersonal means--i.e., direct application and to some extent private and public employment

* These data come from a checklist which the interviewer used to probe after each new job was recorded. Unfortunately, "direct application" was not used as one of the categories and hence this very frequent means of finding jobs cannot be separated from this residual category, which contains other means as well.

Table 6. How First Jobs Were Found by Race and Educational Attainment (Excluding Military Service)

How First Job Was Found	Did Not Complete High School		High School Graduate		College Graduate	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Friends	24.8%	31.9%	23.8%	26.2%	16.4%	6.3%
Relatives	39.8	36.6	28.2	22.7	18.0	12.5
Public Agencies	1.5	1.4	4.0	5.7	1.6	12.5
Private Agencies	0.8	0.6	3.0	1.1	4.9	6.3
Advertisements	4.1	2.2	5.7	6.3	3.3	0.0
Other Means*	28.9	27.4	34.2	37.5	55.7	62.5
No Information	0.0	0.0	1.0	5.6	0.0	0.0
Number of Cases	(266)	(361)	(298)	(176)	(61)	(16)

*"Other Means" includes direct application either by mail or applying at business employment offices, being recommended by someone and consequently being solicited directly, and so on. It is our impression that the vast majority of the cases counted in this category involve direct application on the part of the respondent.

agencies.

The implications of the findings in Table 6 are rather important. If persons entering the labor market use their friends and relatives for job market information, it is not likely that they will become exposed to the full range of job opportunities available to them in the local labor market. Particularly handicapped in this respect would be blacks whose friendship and kinship networks are very likely to be restricted largely to their own racial group, thereby tending to perpetuate a dual labor market, one for each of the major racial groups.

VIII: Characteristics of the First Job after Entry

A few salient characteristics of the first jobs held by our respondents after their entry into the labor force are shown in Table 7. To begin with, the jobs held after entry, as one might expect, are a cut or two above those which the respondents held on either a part-time or full-time basis before they left school. The differences* are par-

* The exact differences are as follows:

Differences in Prestige Scores Between First Job after Entry and	Educational Attainment at Entry Point					
	Did Not Complete High School		High School Graduates		College Graduates	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Average Score for Previous Full-Time Jobs	2.7	1.8	5.1	5.0	14.9	14.6
Average Scores for Previous Part-Time Jobs	4.5	2.3	5.9	7.0	16.7	11.4

Table 7. Selected Characteristics of First Job by Race and Educational Attainment at Entry Point

Selected Characteristics of First Job	Did Not Complete High School		High School Graduate		College Graduate	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Average Occupational Prestige N=	24.9 (309)	22.8 (442)	29.0 (444)	26.8 (267)	45.8 (90)	38.5 (25)
Average Duration of First Job (Months)	33.4	44.5	26.1	32.9	34.1	28.5
Median Duration of First Job (Months)	19	28	15	24	19	22
N=	(311)	(444)	(447)	(267)	(91)	(25)
Percent Whose First Jobs are Military	15.7%	12.7%	17.4%	20.9%	16.4%	28.0%
N=	(311)	(444)	(447)	(267)	(91)	(25)

particularly striking for college graduates, but even for men who did not complete high school there are differences in average prestige scores between these first jobs and previously held positions of the order of 3 points--equivalent to the difference in scores between assembly line workers and house painters. For those who have completed high school, the differences are of the order of six points, or about the difference between assembly line workers and auto mechanics. For college graduates, of course, the differences are much larger, averaging about 16 points for whites and 13 points for blacks.

Those who do not complete high school obtain first jobs after entry which have average prestige scores close to that of assembly line workers; those who finished high school do a little better but their jobs have average scores which are about 2 points above those accorded to operatives. College graduates, as might be expected, do considerably better, with whites averaging around the scores of bookkeepers and skilled machinists and blacks with scores a little lower than tailors, but higher than barbers. It should be borne in mind that these are first jobs, and although the scores appear to be low, especially for college graduates, promotions and job changes will bring the average scores for subsequent jobs more into line with common sense expectations.

At least part of the reason for the seemingly depressed prestige scores for college graduates can be seen in the last row of Table 7, where the proportions who enter military service as their first jobs after entry are shown. Blacks and whites are about equally likely to enter

the military service immediately after entry, the overall proportions being 16.2% for whites and 16.7% for blacks. However, race differences appear if we examine the three educational attainment groups; the greater their educational attainment, the more likely blacks are to start their careers with a period of military service, while no clear pattern emerges for whites.

Considering the length of time spent in first jobs, it is difficult to characterize the period after entry as one of "floundering about." On the average, both whites and blacks hold their first jobs for more than two years, respondents with less educational attainment and blacks spending longer periods of time on these first jobs after entry. However, averages conceal the fact that there is a considerable amount of short term job holding. If we examine the median durations of first jobs, as in the third line of Table 7, we find that half of the whites hold their first jobs for less than two years, ranging from 15 months for white high school graduates to 19 months for those who do not complete high school to 19 months for white college graduates. The median durations for blacks are higher, especially for those who do not complete high school.

Thus, it appears that the durations of first jobs are quite variable, with enough individuals holding them for long time periods to raise the average duration about a year above the median. Many of our respondents held their first jobs for short periods of time, showing that a certain amount of trial-and-error experimentation with jobs does

occur during this early period. Table 8 contains a detailed breakdown of the durations of first jobs held by our respondents.

Should we assume that jobs held for short periods of time, say up to six months, include a large proportion of trials which either the respondent or the employer found unpromising, then at each of the white educational levels between twenty and thirty percent of the first jobs are in this category. Blacks are less likely to hold their first jobs for short periods of time. Among the blacks who did not complete high school, only about one in ten held his first job for six months or less; the corresponding figures for high school graduates is one in five, and for college graduates, one in three.

We note that there are rather large proportions who hold their first jobs for long periods of time. The last two lines of Table 8 show the numbers who held their first jobs for three to five years and for over five years, respectively. About one in three of the respondents who did not complete high school was in one of these long tenure groups, the proportions being slightly higher for blacks than for whites. Although the better educated are less likely to hold jobs for such long periods, the differences are not very great; thus, one in five white high school and college graduates have held their first jobs for more than three years. The corresponding proportions for blacks are higher for high school graduates (one in three) but lower for black college graduates (a little less than one in six, though once again the small number of black college graduates in our sample makes this last figure

Table 8. Duration of First Job after Entry by Race and Educational Attainment

Duration of First Job after Entry	Did Not Complete High School		High School Graduate		College Graduate	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Three or less (months)	9.0%	4.0%	17.0%	11.9%	21.9%	8.0%
Four to six (months)	12.5	5.9	12.3	7.9	9.0	24.0
Seven to twelve (months)	16.7	13.9	17.2	14.2	11.0	8.0
One to two (years)	19.0	19.2	20.1	18.4	20.9	32.0
Two to three (years)	13.8	19.1	10.8	16.4	12.1	12.0
Three to five (years)	16.7	17.0	14.9	21.0	7.7	8.0
More than five (years)	12.3	20.7	7.7	10.2	15.4	8.0
Number of cases	(311)	(444)	(447)	(267)	(91)	(25)

unreliable).

The durations of first jobs are so variable within each educational level and within each racial group that it is difficult to make a simple characterization of the first jobs held. Many of those in our sample hold their first jobs for three or more years. Obviously some find their first jobs not to their liking and shift, with whites more likely to shift than blacks and the better educated respondents more likely to shift than the less well educated. This is hardly the picture of "floundering" that previous researchers have attempted to draw. Rather, the process appears to be one in which those who have more advantages on the labor market through their race and educational experience "shop around" for jobs while those who are not in such advantageous positions tend to persist longer in their first jobs.

IX: Life Cycle Changes and Entry

For the historical period in question, the period of entry into the labor force overlaps to a large degree with the period in which most males first marry. For males, the median age at first marriage has been in the early twenties from 1940 through 1960, dropping slightly from 23 to 22 years of age during that time. Since median age at entry is about 18 for both blacks and whites, it is obvious that most males enter upon their first jobs as single men. Is entry related to shifts in marital status?

Information on marital status at entry and shifts in marital status after entry is shown in Table 9. The time between entry into the labor force and the end of the first job is split into two periods: the first going from entry point to the beginning of the first job, the second period starting with the beginning of the first job and ending when he leaves it. For the majority of respondents who found their first jobs before entry or within a month of leaving full-time education, the duration of the first period is essentially zero and whatever shifts in marital status occur are shown as taking place during the tenure of the first job itself. For the minority (around two in five) of respondents who experienced some period of unemployment before finding their first jobs, the median duration of unemployment was between three and four months.

The marital shifts that are shown in the top part of Table 9 are those which took place in the period between entry and obtaining the first job. Note that most respondents did not get married in that period; the overwhelming majority (more than nine out of ten who enter the labor force unmarried) start their first jobs in the same state. Only college graduates (who are also older when they enter the labor force) show any strong tendency to marry upon entry. One out of four white college graduates shifts from single to married in the period between entry and their first jobs, with the corresponding proportion for blacks being about one in ten.

Most respondents also go through their first jobs as single men,

Table 9. Changes in Marital Status at Entry into Labor Force
by Race and Educational Attainment

A. Marital Status Changes Between Entry Point and Obtaining First Job	Did Not Complete High School		High School Graduate		College Graduate	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Remain Single	98.0%	96.8%	97.0%	96.2%	72.5%	88.0%
Married Throughout	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.3	1.1	4.0
Single to Married	1.2	2.2	2.4	3.3	26.3	8.0

B. Marital Status Changes
During First Job

Single Throughout	86.8	77.6	82.1	74.4	43.9	64.0
Married Throughout	1.9	2.9	2.9	3.3	26.3	12.0
Single to Married	11.2	18.2	14.9	20.6	28.5	24.0
Married to Unmarried*	0.0	1.3	0.0	1.7	1.1	0.0
Number of Cases	(311)	(444)	(447)	(267)	(91)	(25)

*Includes some cases in which respondents started out this period as single, became married and then became widowers, were separated or divorced.

as the bottom half of Table 9 indicates. Only small minorities of the lower educational levels marry during their first jobs, with blacks more likely to become married than whites. Only white college graduates finish their first jobs with a majority married, but that proportion (54%) is hardly a preponderance. With the usual caveat concerning sample sizes to be borne in mind, black college graduates are considerably less likely to marry during either of the two periods than their white counterparts, despite their being on the average almost two years older at entry.

Given the findings of Table 9, there is very little evidence that for males, marital status shifts and entry into the labor market are closely connected. Eighty percent of the men in our sample enter the labor market single and finish their first jobs single. If there is any relationship between job shifts and marital status, it would have to occur in the period beyond the first job. There is some slight evidence that shifts in marital status are connected with entry for college graduates. The findings are consistent with the notion that college students postpone marriage until they are graduated or until they enter upon their first jobs, 99% of the whites ending college in the single state with only 44% remaining single at the end of their first jobs. Of course, since college graduates are considerably older at entry than those on the lower educational levels, these findings may indicate some degree of postponement but also at the same time mainly demonstrate that most males get married in their early twenties.

Marital status may be more tied into chronological age among males than it is to their occupational careers.

X: An Explanatory Note on Method

Up to this point in this report we have been concerned primarily with presenting a description of the ways in which white and black men of different levels of educational attainment enter the labor force. The remainder of this report will have a more analytic focus, attempting to explain both the variations in the characteristic modes of entry and the consequences for subsequent occupational attainment. The techniques to be employed may be somewhat unfamiliar to the reader and hence we will digress in this section of the report to present a rather detailed description of the type of multiple regression analysis to be employed. We will also use this opportunity to describe more fully the main variables to be used, especially those which will be introduced for the first time.

The main variables to be used in the analysis are as follows:

Social Class Background: This is a cluster of variables all pertaining to the parental family of the respondent, consisting of the prestige score of the occupation held by the respondent's father (or whoever was head of household), his father's educational attainment, and his mother's educational attainment. Educational attainment has been transformed in this analysis into a continuous variable taking on the values from zero through ten; e.g., a high school graduate is scored 4 and a college graduate is scored 7. 10

Pre-Entry Employment Experience: This is a cluster of four variables pertaining to the part-time and full-time employment experiences of the respondent prior to entry into the labor

force. Two dummy variables are used to represent respectively the holding of any full-time or part-time employment before entry. The other two variables are the prestige scores for the jobs held on a part-time and a full-time basis.

Respondent's Educational Attainment at Entry: This variable is a quantitative score ranging from zero to 10, using the same scoring procedure as employed in the case of mother's and father's educational attainment.

Job Prestige Scores: The prestige scores and their derivation have been discussed earlier. Such scores have been computed for each and every job held by respondent throughout his occupational career. These scores will be the main dependent variable in the analysis which follows.

We will present several measures of the effects of clusters of variables and of the single variables used in the analysis. The variance explained by a cluster or a single variable will be partitioned into the amount of variance which it shares with other independent variables and combinations of other variables and the unique variance.¹¹ The unique variance of an independent variable is the amount of the variance in the dependent variable which that independent variable contributes over and above its joint contributions with the other independent variables used in that particular analysis. Thus the unique variance for social class background in explaining, say, occupational prestige of the respondent's first job, would be the amount of additional explanatory power that social class background contributes over and above the other independent variables used in the analysis.

"Social class background" and "pre-entry employment experience" will be treated in the analysis as clusters of variables whose combined

effects on occupational prestige will be calculated. There are two clear advantages to treating these variables as clusters rather than working with their individual components. The components of the clusters, for example the occupational prestige of the respondent's father and the educational attainment of both his parents, are in fact measures of the underlying social class of the individual's family of origin and their separate effects cannot, in substance, be separated. This is known as multicollinearity. The principal advantage, and the reason why we do not use a single variable in place of the cluster, is that by combining three or more measures of single effect, like social class, we can get a much better estimate of the importance of that effect than can be obtained from a single variable.

The task of the multiple regression technique presented here is to yield quantitative measures of the importance of different factors in predicting some outcome (like the occupational prestige score of the respondent's first job). We will present several measures of the effects of clusters of variables and of single variables in each of the multiple regressions described. If we consider multiple regressions in which there are two independent variables, the variance they account for when regressed against some dependent variable can be split into three parts: the variance uniquely associated with the first variable, the variance uniquely associated with the second variable, and a third part which cannot be uniquely assigned to either of the two variables and is the

effect they share. In a similar fashion, if there are three variables, the variance can be uniquely split into seven such unique effects, one for each possible combination of the presence or absence of each of the variables (excluding, of course, the eighth combination, that where each of the variables is absent). If there are four independent variables, fifteen such parts exist.

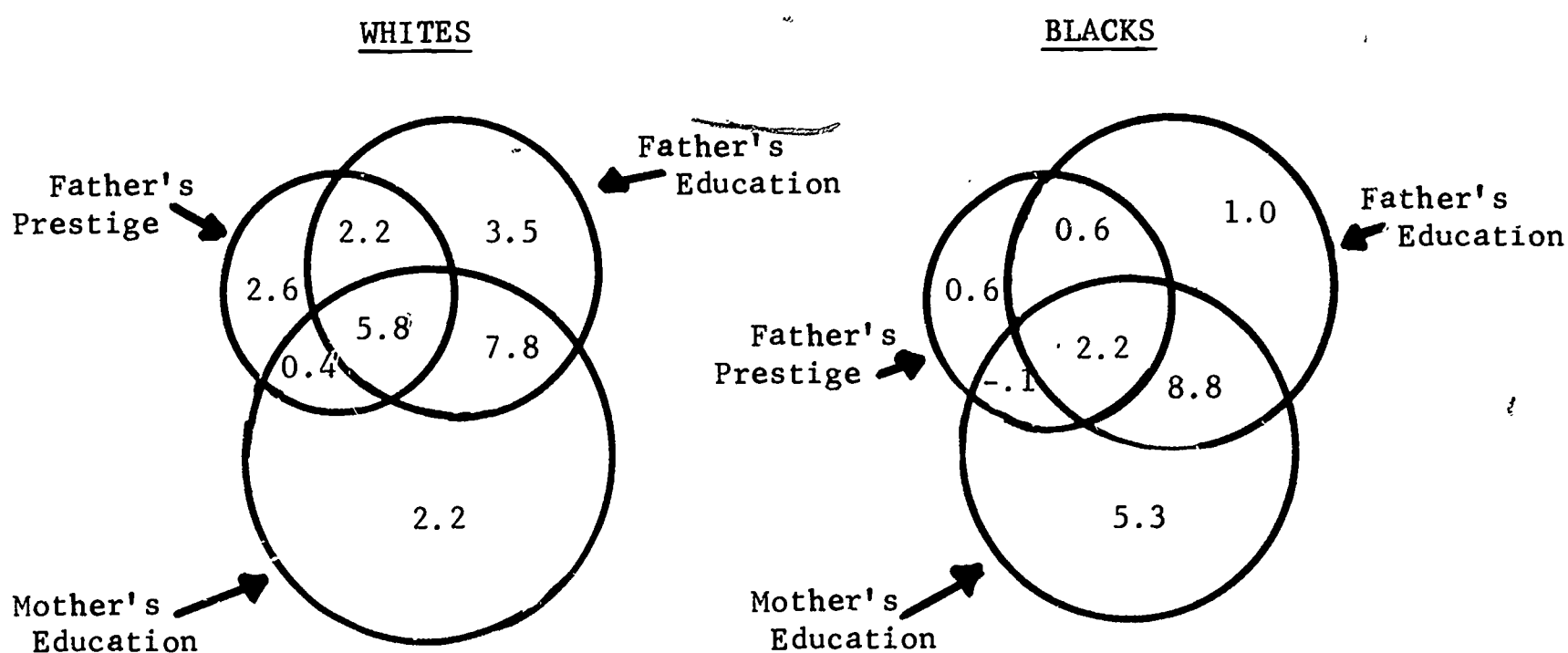
These unique measures show the importance of a given variable or combination of variables, after removing the effect of all other combinations of variables--it is the absolute minimum measure of the importance of the variable or cluster: hence the term "unique." The other measure we will present is the "zero order" effect. This value, or rather percentage of the total variance, is a measure of the maximum possible effect of the variable or cluster. It is obtained by entering only the variable or cluster in question into the regression equation; there is thus no control for the effects of other variables. There is often a wide discrepancy between the unique and "first order" effect of a variable or cluster, the latter often being several times larger than the latter.

An example of the general form of the regression technique is given in Table 10, where we present an analysis of the relative importance of three factors influencing the respondent's educational attainment at his first job after entry. The three social background variables--the prestige of father's occupation, father's educational attainment and mother's educational attainment--are the variables whose effects we evaluate.

Table 10. Educational Attainment at Entry by Social Class Background Variables, by Race

Combinations of Independent Variables*			Variance in Educational Attainment Explained (Percentages)			
Father's Occupational Prestige	Father's Education	Mother's Education	Zero-Order Variance		Unique Variance	
			Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
+	0	0	10.4	2.6	2.6	0.6
0	+	0	17.7	11.9	3.5	1.0
0	0	+	15.6	15.5	2.2	5.3
+	+	0	20.1	12.4	2.2	0.6
+	0	+	20.4	16.7	0.4	-0.1
0	+	+	21.3	17.1	7.8	8.8
+	+	+	23.9	17.7	5.3	1.5

* "+" signifies the presence of an independent variable in a combination, and "0" signifies its absence.



Each row in Table 10 represents a combination of the three variables used as independent variables in this analysis. Thus, the first row pertains to the combination in which only father's occupational prestige is present. The first two entries in the row contain the amount of the variance, for whites and blacks respectively, explained by this variable when it is correlated alone with educational attainment. The last two entries in that row contain the unique contribution of this variable when all the other variables and combinations of variables in the analysis are taken into account. Thus we may note that for whites, the zero order effect of father's occupational prestige explains 10.4% of the variance in respondent's educational attainment; however, when the other effects are taken into account, the unique contribution of father's occupational prestige is only to explain 2.6% of the variance.

The last row of Table 10 contains the combinations in which all three variables are present. We find that the three variables together explain 23.9% of the total variance for whites and 17.7% for blacks. However, as the last two entries in the last row indicate, the three variables taken together have unique contributions of 8.3% and 6.9% respectively, indicating that the unique contributions of the overlap combinations of the variables are making up the difference. These figures reveal the common effect that cannot be distinguished as belonging to one of the three variables or pairwise combination of them. It thus represents a measure of the effect of social class, taken holistically, on the educational attainment of the individual growing up in

the household.

The last two columns of Table 10 contain the most important data resulting from this form of analysis. The unique contributions are a concise way of assessing the relative importance of the variables designated as independent. Thus, the last two columns indicate that father's occupational prestige accounts for 2.6% of the variance for whites and 0.6% of the variance for blacks, father's educational attainment accounts for 3.5% for whites and 1.0% of the variance for blacks, while mother's educational attainment accounts for 2.2% for whites and 5.3% of the variance for blacks. It is clear that the educational experience of the respondent's parents is more important than the occupational prestige of whoever was the major breadwinner in the respondent's parental family.

For both races there is a large part of the variance that is common to the father's and mother's educational attainment and cannot be separated out as belonging to one of them: 7.8% of the variance for whites and 8.8% of a total of 17.7% for blacks. There is more common variance associated with the father's occupational prestige and his educational attainment for whites than there is for blacks. Taken together, these figures show blacks to be much more strongly influenced by their mothers than their fathers, while for whites the opposite is the case. This finding has ample precedent in the literature. Furthermore, we see that there is an important variable that might be termed "educational climate of the family" that results from a factor common to both parents' educational attainment. This latter observation can only be made when a

partitioning technique is used.

Although we have mainly presented Table 10 to illustrate how the analysis will be conducted in the remainder of this paper, Table 10 also may be viewed as containing an important substantive finding. It appears that the "educational climate" of the parental households, as indexed by the joint educational attainment levels of the parents, has more of an impact upon the respondent's educational attainment than any of the other factors we have considered as indexing his social class background.

XI: Factors Affecting the Prestige Level of Entry Jobs

Earlier in this report, we presented the average prestige scores of first jobs after entry and were able to show that typically our respondents entered the occupational system at fairly low prestige levels. However, these averages conceal considerable variation among individuals within each of the two racial groups. Within each educational attainment level, there was considerable variation from individual to individual in the social status level at which he entered the occupational system. For example, among college graduates, some entered as physicians, whose prestige score is among the highest of all occupations, and some entered as bookkeepers. Similarly, among those who did not complete high school, some entered as unskilled laborers and some as auto mechanics, a span of approximately 20 points

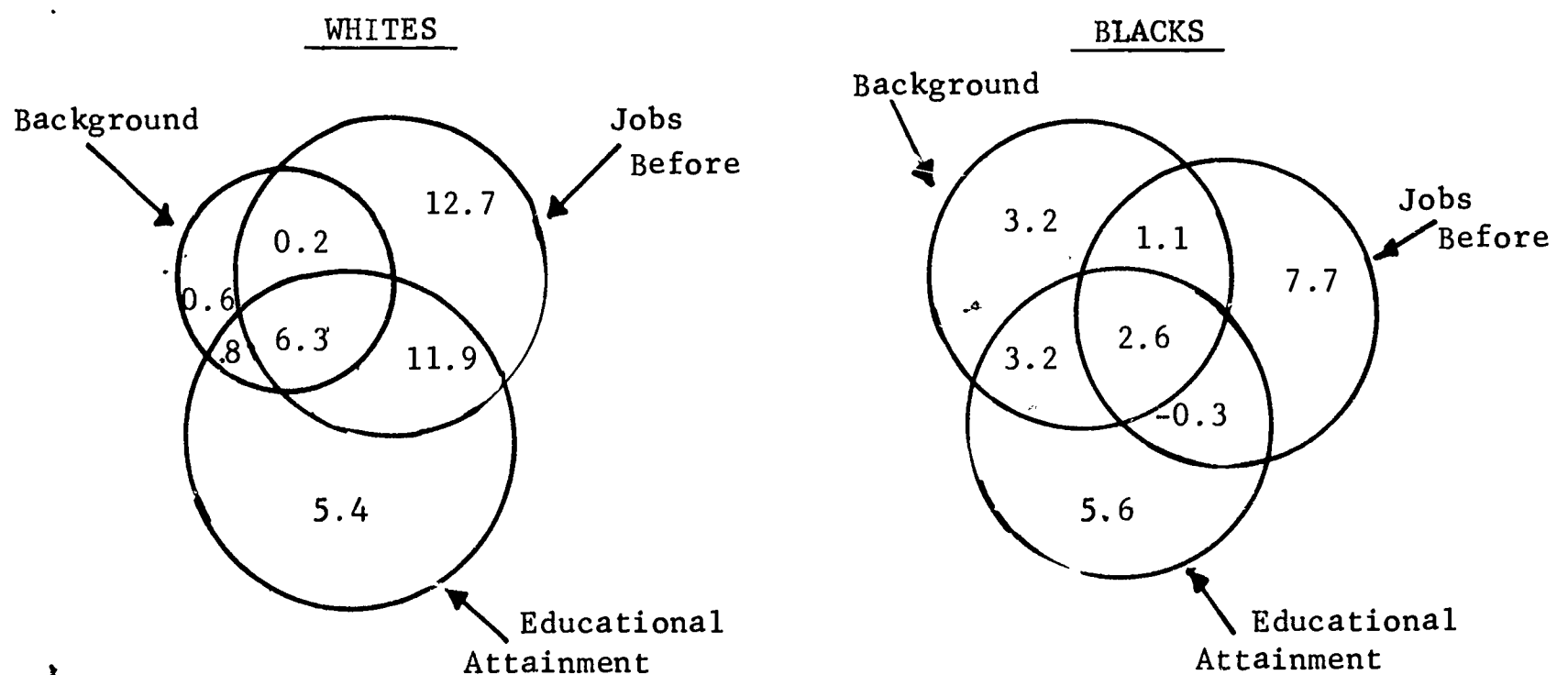
in prestige scores.

What accounts for the level at which a respondent enters the occupational system? Table 11 presents part of the answer to this question, regressing social class background, pre-entry employment experience and educational attainment on the occupational prestige scores of the respondents' first jobs. Compared to the usual run-of-the-mill social science analyses, a rather impressive amount of the variance is explained: 37.9% for the whites and 23.1% for the blacks. For whites, jobs before entry account uniquely for 12.7% of the variance in prestige of first job; for blacks 7.7%. Note that pre-entry job experience has the largest of all unique contributions for both whites and blacks. This may indicate that being an experienced worker helps in placement after completion of education, or it may indicate that pre-entry jobs provide an entrée into the business involved, or it may mean that those who have the initiative to find full-time and part-time work while they are still going to school show an extra amount of initiative in looking for their first jobs after they leave school. Given our data, it is not possible to sort out these alternative explanations, although it should be clear that this finding indicates another way in which blacks are disadvantaged as they approach the labor force. Fewer blacks have had pre-entry labor force experience, as our earlier analysis indicated, and the proportion of the variance explained for blacks by this fact is considerably less, showing that blacks are less able to cash in on their pre-entry work experience

Table 11. Prestige of First Job, Social Class Background, Pre-Entry Employment, and Educational Attainment, by Race

Combinations of Independent Variables*			Variance in Prestige of First Job Explained (Percentages)			
Class Background	Pre-Entry Jobs	Educational Attainment	Zero-Order Variance		Unique Variance	
			Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
+	0	0	7.9	10.1	0.6	3.2
0	+	0	31.1	11.0	12.7	7.7
0	0	+	24.4	11.1	5.4	5.6
+	+	0	32.5	17.5	0.2	1.1
+	0	+	25.2	15.4	0.8	3.2
0	+	+	37.3	19.9	11.9	-0.3
+	+	+	37.9	23.1	6.3	2.6

* "+" signifies that the variable in question is present in a combination and "0" signifies that it has been left out of that combination.



when they do enter the labor force.

Class background, as measured by a three-variable cluster consisting of the father's occupational prestige and the educational attainment of both the parents, accounts for 3.6% of the variance for blacks, only 0.6% for whites. Educational attainment at the start of the first job uniquely explains about the same amount of total variance for whites and blacks, 5.2% and 3.9% respectively.

Among the more interesting findings are those related to the unique contributions of combinations of variables. For example, the overlapping effects of previous work experience and educational attainment for whites is 11.9%, the second largest unique contribution, while the corresponding figure for blacks is not significantly different from zero. The actual figure is negative, -0.3%. A negative unique contribution can result from random error from the inclusion of two variables strongly negatively correlated in the regression. In this case, the negative contribution is not significantly different from zero and is just a random error. Apparently, whites are better able to capitalize on their previous work experience if they have high educational attainment than are blacks.

The general picture that emerges from the findings of Table 11 is that the prestige level at which whites enter the labor market can be better predicted than that of blacks. From one point of view, this can be viewed as disadvantageous to blacks and from another point of view, it can be viewed as having opposite connotation. A finding is that those

blacks with more education and who have some work experience before entry are not able to employ these characteristics in seeking for a job to the same extent as whites. In short, you get less credit for your work experience and attainment if you are black. From this viewpoint, the findings are consistent with the interpretation that blacks are being discriminated against on the labor market.

However, since blacks tend to be disadvantaged with respect both to pre-entry jobs held and educational attainment, the lack of a close fit between these factors and prestige level of first jobs means that these handicaps are not too restrictive on subsequent occupational attainment, since poorer educated blacks are able to do better relatively. Hence, these findings have an interpretation which looks as if the occupational system is more easily penetrated by blacks without job experience. However, we should bear in mind that the term "relatively" pertains to blacks as a group and not to the total labor force.

Once again, we can define the effect of overlapping of the three sets of variables in the model (class background, pre-entry work experience, and educational attainment) at the beginning of the first job. For the whites, this common variance is 6.3%; for the blacks it is only 2.6%. As in our previous attempt to separate the factors influencing educational attainment, it appears that a broad social class measure, as measured by this overlap variance, is a source of better first jobs for whites but much less so for blacks.

The factors considered up to this point have been ones lying in the respondent's family background or his experiences preceding entry into the labor force. There are, of course, other factors which we have not taken into account, as is evidenced by our finding that the major portion of the variance in the occupational prestige of first jobs cannot be accounted for by the variables we used. We cannot hope ever to explain all the variance, but attempts can be made to see how some additional items of information about the process of entry itself affect occupational outcomes.

As we noted in an earlier section, although the majority of the men in our sample entered the labor force after finishing a conventional unit of education, there were some who left high school before graduation and some who left college without receiving their degrees. To some small extent, those persons who thus began jobs with incomplete educational units managed to finish them later on. The Armed Forces has helped hundreds of thousands of men to complete their high school education by obtaining high school equivalency certificates. Night schools are run by almost every public school system, and in most cities it is possible to obtain a bachelor's degree by attending college or university evening and summers. What is the effect of entering before completing a conventional unit on the kinds of jobs obtained upon entry?

The data displayed in Table 12 show the educational attainment for selected groups of respondents at two points in time--at the time

Table 12. Prestige Scores of First Jobs by Educational Attainment at Entry and Educational Attainment at End of Second Job, by Race

Educational Attainment at		Prestige Scores of First Jobs for	
Entry	Interview	Whites	Blacks
Some High School	Some High School	25.5 (126)	23.4 (210)
Some High School	High School Graduate	30.6 (27)	25.0 (24)
High School Graduate	High School Graduate	28.0 (263)	25.9 (16)
Some College	Some College	32.4 (69)	28.5 (43)
Some College	College Graduate or More	33.6 (9)	30.0 (1)
College Graduate or More	College Graduate or More	45.5 (73)	39.2 (21)

of entry into the labor force and at the end of their second jobs when most respondents had finished their formal education). The top three rows of Table 12 permit a comparison between those who entered before completing their high schooling and did not return to graduate, those who entered without completing high school and subsequently obtained a high school diploma, and those who entered having completed high school and who received no further schooling. No striking differences appear in the average prestige standings of the first jobs for each of these three groups, though a very slight edge (of about 3 prestige points) goes to those who did complete their high schooling. To summarize, for the historical period in question there was scarcely any point to finishing high school for either whites or blacks before entering the labor force as far as impact upon the prestige level of the first job was concerned.

Quite a different set of results obtain for completing college, however, as the last three rows of Table 12 indicate. Persons entering the labor force after receiving their B.A.'s enter at a much higher level, of the order of 12 prestige scores points higher, than those who had some college and interrupted their college education. Apparently the B.A. is much more important as a credential than the high school diploma.

Table 13 is an attempt to discern the effect of using differing means of finding a first job on the prestige level of that job. The entries in the table are average prestige scores of first jobs for the



Table 13 (a). Prestige Scores of First Jobs by Means of Finding Jobs, by Educational Attainment and Race

Means of Finding First Job	Elementary School or Less		High School Graduates		College Graduates	
	W	B	W	B	W	B
Friends	25.0 (66)		27.9 (71)		41.5 (10)	
		22.3 (115)		27.9 (46)		63.1 (1)
Family	23.2 (106)		28.1 (84)		36.7 (11)	
		20.7 (132)		24.2 (4)		23.5 (2)
Public Agencies	22.8 (4)		31.9 (12)		54.3 (1)	
		26.7 (5)		29.0 (10)		49.5 (2)
Private Agencies	28.7 (2)		35.6 (9)		67.8 (3)	
		17.3 (2)		27.9 (2)		52.4 (1)
Advertisements	25.3 (11)		31.8 (17)		51.9 (2)	
		21.8 (8)		30.1 (110)		--
Other Means	26.1 (77)		29.4 (102)		55.9 (34)	
		22.8 (99)		26.4 (66)		43.7 (10)

Table 13(b). Analysis of Variance

Source	Whites	Blacks
F Ratio for Education**	56.04* d.f.=(7,617)	22.58* d.f.=(7,545)
F Ratio for Means of Getting First Job	9.42* d.f.=(5,619)	5.26* d.f.=(5,547)
Variance Explained by Education	36.15%	20.66%
Variance Explained by Means	7.62%	4.81%

* All significant beyond .001.

** Education is broken into eight categories in this analysis of variance.

combinations of educational attainment by the means used, as designated in row and column headings respectively. At the bottom of Table 13, we show the results of an analysis of variance calculation of the proportion of the variance in occupational prestige accounted for uniquely by educational attainment and means used. Although, as might be expected, education explains a lot more of the variance in the first job's occupational prestige, there is still a significant amount of the variance that is accounted for by the means used, 6.6% for whites and 4.8% for blacks.

Scanning the entries in the table it appears that the major effect of means employed to find jobs occurs for the better educated groups. College graduates who rely on the informal help of friends or relatives obtain first jobs with considerably lower prestige standings than those who rely on direct application ("other means"), employment agencies and advertisements. This finding probably reflects the fact that jobs of a professional sort (e.g., teachers, engineers, and so on) are usually offered on a wider labor market and employers rely upon universalistic means to obtain properly qualified employees.

XII: Effects of Entry Factors on Subsequent Occupational Attainment

The rationale that supports investment in the research efforts reported here lies in ~~the~~ belief that where and how a person enters the

labor force has a lasting impact upon his subsequent occupational career. From the previous research, perhaps the strongest evidence that this is the case comes from Blau and Duncan's finding that the prestige levels of the first jobs reported by their sample had appreciable and independent effects upon the standings of their occupations at the time of the interview. However, since Blau and Duncan allowed the respondents to designate what they thought were their first full-time jobs, it is possible that respondents reported instead those jobs held during the early part of their careers which they thought launched them onto the path leading to their current positions. The data we have gathered in this study, being more detailed about all jobs held in the early stages of entry into the labor force as well as defining an entry point for everyone in a uniform way, can more precisely pinpoint the subsequent effects of the entry jobs.

From Table 14 we can discern that there is a gradual improvement in prestige standing with each successive job. On the average, the shifts upward in prestige for subsequent jobs does not amount to very much with each job shift, although the cumulative effect is an increase of 5.4 prestige points for whites and 3.3 points for blacks. Most striking is the finding that the difference between blacks and whites increases with each additional job, from 4.5 points for the first job to 6.6 points for the fifth job.

Table 14 also contains the average prestige scores of jobs held by our respondents 10 years after entry into the labor force.

Table 14. Average Prestige Scores and Durations of First Through Fifth Jobs, by Race

	Average Values for	
	Whites	Blacks
A. Prestige Scores of		
First Jobs	29.3 (843)	24.8 (734)
Second Jobs	31.3 (811)	26.6 (696)
Third Jobs	32.7 (750)	26.4 (634)
Fourth Jobs	34.6 (639)	28.0 (541)
Fifth Jobs	34.7 (533)	28.1 (422)
B. Prestige Score of Job Held 10 Years After Entry into Labor Force	37.5 (773)	28.3 (670)
C. Duration in Months of		
First Jobs	29.6 (849)	39.7 (736)
Second Jobs	33.4 (813)	35.1 (700)
Third Jobs	35.9 (750)	40.7 (638)
Fourth Jobs	32.5 (642)	39.4 (543)
Fifth Jobs	34.3 (534)	35.1 (424)

Note: Case bases decline for higher order jobs because some respondents had fewer jobs than the order in question.

We will use this measure as a dependent variable in our analysis because so many of both black and white respondents have had only a small number of job shifts and hence using higher order jobs as dependent variables means losing too many cases. The great majority of our respondents have been in the labor force for more than ten years, and a decade seems to be a reasonable amount of time to allow for several adjustments between the individual and his employment. Note that the average prestige scores of jobs held ten years after entry are higher than the averages for fourth or fifth jobs. This seeming anomaly may be a function of the fact that persons getting relatively good jobs early in their careers may be less likely to change. Hence the higher order jobs could represent attempts on the part of persons with less attractive positions to better themselves.

The bottom section of Table 14 contains average durations of the first through fifth jobs. Note that these numbers remain relatively unchanged with each successive job, although blacks consistently hold their jobs longer than whites at each order of job held.

The prestige scores of adjacent jobs tend to be moderately related. The average correlation between adjacent jobs for whites being .419 and for blacks .385. This finding, taken together with the data of Table 14, indicating a general increase in prestige scores as a worker progresses from one job to the next, means that there is a moderate tendency for one job to be similar to the next in scores, although later

jobs are likely to be slightly higher than their predecessors.

Table 15 presents evidence that a man's early jobs establish him upon a career line which tends to persist over time. The results of multiple regression analysis are given there with each successive job as the dependent variable and educational attainment and the prestige scores of previous jobs (a cluster of variables in the case of higher order jobs) as independent variables. The first two columns pertain to the second jobs held by respondents, showing that for both blacks and whites about one fourth of the total variance in the prestige scores of the second job are accounted for by these two factors, slightly more so in the case of whites than is true for blacks. The unique effect of educational attainment is much larger than that of the first job for both blacks and whites. For later jobs, the findings are quite different. The importance of educational attainment declines and the importance of the prestige of previous jobs increases in importance. Thus, for the fifth job, the total variance explained has increased slightly, but the unique contribution of education has shrunk to almost nothing (less than 2.0% for whites and blacks) while the unique variance attributed to previous jobs has increased to 10.7% and 16.0% for blacks and whites respectively.

In other words, the point at which educational attainment counts is early in the career line. Beyond the second job, labor force experience, as indexed by the prestige levels of previous jobs, begins to

Table 15. Relative Effects of Educational Attainment and Prestige of Previous Jobs on Higher Order Jobs, by Race

	Dependent Variable is Prestige Score of							
	2nd Job		3rd Job		4th Job		5th Job	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Total Variance Explained	31.8	25.9	31.9	24.8	38.3	32.1	28.2	31.0
Unique Variance Explained by Educational Attainment	11.9	10.6	5.6	4.9	2.2	2.0	1.9	1.7
Unique Variance Explained by Prestige of Previous Jobs	4.1	6.2	6.8	7.9	14.4	17.6	10.7	16.0
Common Variance to Education and Prestige of Previous Jobs	15.8	9.1	19.5	12.0	21.7	12.5	15.6	13.3

count for more and more until by the fifth job, the unique effect of educational attainment has dwindled to almost zero. Indeed, the causal model implied in these findings is one in which social class background and educational attainment, modified positively or negatively by race, have a fairly strong influence on the prestige levels of the first and second jobs. Beyond that point, job experiences begin to count more heavily while background factors and educational attainment decline in importance.

The analysis presented in Table 16 bears upon the interpretation presented in the last paragraph. A multiple regression analysis is shown there using the prestige scores of the third jobs held by respondents as the dependent variables, with background factors and the prestige of the first two jobs as independent variables. The total amount of the variance explained is 33% for whites and 27% for blacks,* a finding which follows the usual pattern of our being better able to predict the behavior of whites than of blacks. However, the important finding to note in Table 16 is that the prestige standings of the first two jobs account uniquely for almost twice as much variance as the unique contributions of any one of the other factors and as much as all of them taken together. In addition, the contributions of combinations of

*Note that the addition of the background variables of social class and pre-entry work experience increases the total variance explained by 0.8% in the case of whites and 2.2% in the case of blacks, as a comparison of Table 16 with Table 15 indicates. Thus, social class background and pre-entry work experience do not add very much to the explanation of the prestige standings of the third jobs held by our respondents.

Table 16. Prestige Scores of Third Job after Entry by Background Factors and Prestige of Previous Jobs, by Race

Independent Factors				Proportion of Variance Uniquely Explained for	
Social Class	Pre-Entry Jobs	Education (Respondent)	Prestige of First Two Jobs	Whites	Blacks
+	0	0	0	0.1%	1.2%
0	+	0	0	0.7	1.0
0	0	+	0	3.8	4.1
0	0	0	+	6.3	6.2
Subtotal for Single Factors				<u>10.9</u>	<u>12.5</u>
+	+	0	0	0.1	0.0
+	0	+	0	0.4	1.4
+	0	0	+	0.2	1.3
0	+	+	0	1.0	-0.5
0	+	0	+	0.7	0.3
0	0	+	+	6.3	6.2
Subtotal for Factors Two at a Time				<u>8.7</u>	<u>8.7</u>
+	+	+	0	0.4	-0.1
+	+	0	+	-0.4	0.1
+	0	+	+	1.3	4.3
0	+	+	+	0.7	0.1
Subtotal for Factors Three at a Time				<u>2.0</u>	<u>4.4</u>
+	+	+	+	4.9	1.4
Total Variance Explained				<u>32.8%</u>	<u>21.0%</u>

variables containing the prestige standings of the first two jobs tend to account for more variance than the corresponding combinations omitting this factor.

XIII: Accounting for Prestige of Occupations Held a Decade after Entry

The analysis presented in the last section of this report was centered around the chains of jobs held by our respondents. As a glance at the case bases in Table 14 would indicate, there are many respondents who have not changed jobs enough to have as many as three jobs between their entry into the job market and the time when they were interviewed. Furthermore, for some individuals, the first three jobs may occupy as little as the first year or so of experience in the labor force, while for others the third job may have been the one they currently held when interviewed, spanning as much as 20 years of labor force experience with the three jobs.

In an attempt to raise the case base as much as possible and to standardize the period of exposure to labor force experience, we chose to concentrate on the job held by respondents a decade after their entries into the labor force. Since our respondents are all in the age group 30-39, the preponderance have been in the labor force at least a decade; the only group who are left out were those who entered the labor force later than twenty years of age and who were not ten years older when we interviewed them (and also a small number who were without jobs at the time ten years after they entered).

First we will consider the impact of two factors which might have some effect on later prestige but are essentially qualitative and so difficult to enter into a multiple regression analysis. In Table 17, we consider the effect of means used to find first jobs on occupational prestige a decade after entry, for each of six educational attainment levels. The results of an analysis of variance for Table 17 is shown on the bottom of that table. The F ratio indicates that both educational attainment and means used uniquely explain statistically significant amounts of the total variance in occupational prestige. However, the means used account for only 3.9% of the variance for whites and 7.2% for blacks, quite small amounts when compared to the unique effects of education, being 23.9% for whites and 13.9% for blacks. The means used to obtain first jobs are relatively more important for blacks, another reflection of the importance of post-entry job experience for this group. This may further indicate that blacks need more skill in locating jobs than whites, especially those jobs which lead into a career line of rising occupational attainment.

A more important factor in the prestige standing of occupations a decade later is the industry in which the first job was found. Table 18 indicates that industry classification uniquely accounts for 6.4% of the variance for whites and 5.5% of the variance for blacks. It should be noted that the industry typology used is a very gross one,

Table 17 (a). Prestige Scores of Job Held Ten Years after Entry by Means Used to Find First Job, by Race and Educational Attainment

Means of Finding First Job	Less than High School		High School Graduate		College Graduate	
	W	B	W	B	W	B
Friends	30.5 (60)	24.1 (100)	38.7 (67)	31.0 (53)	50.5 (7)	63.1 (1)
Family	29.8 (85)	24.1 (100)	38.2 (67)	27.3 (42)	46.7 (8)	--
Public Agencies	29.2 (4)	25.4 (5)	43.1 (11)	27.6 (42)	57.2 (11)	60.1 (1)
Private Agencies	20.8 (2)	17.3 (2)	52.8 (7)	25.8 (2)	49.7 (3)	78.3 (1)
Advertisements	28.1 (7)	25.2 (6)	37.3 (18)	37.6 (13)	62.7 (24)	--
Other Means	31.1 (64)	26.5 (82)	38.3 (108)	31.2 (61)	--	57.7 (6)

Table 17 (b). Analysis of Variance

Source	Whites	Blacks
F Ratio for Education**	32.36* d.f.=(7,525)	28.91* d.f.=(7,454)
F Ratio for Means Used	3.91* d.f.=(5,525)	9.88* d.f.=(5,454)
Unique Variance, Education	32.36%	29.35%
Unique Variance, Means Used	3.91%	7.16%

*All Significant beyond .001.

**An eight category description of education is used in this analysis of variance.

Table 18 (a). Prestige Scores of Jobs Held Ten Years after Entry
by Industry of Entry Job, by Race and Education

Industry of First Job	Less than High School		High School Graduate		College Graduate	
	W	B	W	B	W	B
Agriculture	26.3 (83)	21.0 (129)	31.2 (54)	26.5 (15)	44.2 (7)	--
Construction	32.2 (27)	23.0 (45)	36.0 (54)	28.7 (19)	60.5 (2)	--
Durables Manufacture	31.5 (32)	22.3 (44)	37.4 (65)	26.2 (43)	41.9 (10)	--
Non- Durables Manufacture	30.3 (33)	24.3 (41)	41.4 (39)	29.6 (33)	38.1 (7)	60.1 (2)
Transportation	30.9 (14)	27.6 (12)	34.9 (36)	24.7 (40)	34.5 (5)	36.7 (1)
Wholesale & Retail Trade	29.1 (46)	22.3 (71)	38.9 (85)	29.4 (53)	55.1 (6)	--
Finance	--	--	35.9 (10)	44.0 (10)	21.8 (4)	--
Services & Public Administration	25.0 (27)	25.1 (46)	31.9 (20)	28.8 (43)	30.9 (35)	36.8 (12)

Table 18 (b). Analysis of Variance

Source	Whites	Blacks
F Ratio for Education**	41.02* d.f.=(7,579)	26.68* d.f.=(7,497)
F Ratio for Industry	8.50* d.f.=(7,579)	5.82* d.f.=(7,497)
Unique Variance, Education	30.96%	25.26%
Unique Variance, Industry	6.41%	5.51%

* Significant at .001.

** An eight category description of education is used in this analysis of variance.

being the very first digit of the three digit Census occupational code.* Especially heterogeneous are the industry codes for services and the two codes for manufacturing, each of the three covering specific industries varying very widely in their technical complexity and corresponding skill demands on workers.

That industry of first jobs should make a significant contribution to prestige scores of jobs held a decade later is a further substantiation for the ideas put forth earlier concerning the importance of first jobs taken by individuals. These jobs serve as take off points on career lines conditioned by the prestige levels of those jobs, the industries in which they are embedded, and by the educational attainments and race and class backgrounds of the persons involved. So college graduates will on the whole tend to go further than high school graduates; but college graduates entering some types of industries will do better than those entering others with perhaps a more restricted range of opportunities. For the purposes of this report, however, all we can do is to point out a possible line of further analysis. The technical problems of classifying industries according to some sensible scheme which would facilitate analysis along these lines are too much to tackle in this paper.

*The fact that the industry classification was a very gross one means that the variance estimates for the effects of industry constitute lower bounds of the effect than a finer classification would yield.

As the final set of empirical findings of this report, Table 19 presents a multiple regression analysis in which background, educational attainment and prestige of first job are used to explain prestige of job held a decade after entry into the labor force. The total variance explained is 32.4% for whites and 27.3% for blacks. Several points are of interest here. First of all, class background uniquely accounts for little of the variance. Apparently the effects of class background operate through fostering or retarding educational attainment, but beyond the entry period its effects fade out. Secondly, the factors of high importance are those which relate to educational attainment and work experience. For whites, educational attainment and pre-entry job experiences are important, while for blacks, the prestige level of first jobs is more important than educational attainment. Thirdly, the patterning of unique effects for variables taken one at a time also hold for combinations of two or more variables. Combinations which contain the potent variables of education and pre-entry work experiences for whites tend to account for more unique variance, while combinations which contain educational experience and the prestige level of first jobs are important for blacks.

Table 19 adds more credence to the line of interpretation that has been developed in the last two sections of this report. While social class background helps to get an individual into a more or less favorable position vis a vis entry into the labor force, the qualifications of the individual, as indexed by his educational attain-

Table 19. Prestige Scores of Job Held Ten Years after Entry
by Means Used to Find First Jobs, by Race and
Educational Attainment

Independent Factors				Proportion of Variance Uniquely Explained for	
Social Class	Pre-Entry Jobs	Education (Respondent)	Prestige of First Job	Whites	Blacks
+	0	0	0	0.4%	0.6%
0	+	0	0	0.7	0.4
0	0	+	0	6.7	6.9
0	0	0	+	1.6	5.9
Subtotal for Single Factors				<u>9.4</u>	<u>13.8</u>
+	+	0	0	0.1	-0.2
+	0	+	0	1.4	1.7
+	0	0	+	0.0	0.7
0	+	+	0	4.6	1.0
0	+	0	+	0.4	-0.1
0	0	+	+	2.3	4.1
Subtotal for Factors Two at a Time				<u>8.8</u>	<u>7.2</u>
+	+	0	+	2.2	0.8
+	+	0	+	0.2	0.3
+	0	+	+	0.8	2.5
0	+	+	+	6.7	1.0
Subtotal for Factors Three at a Time				<u>9.9</u>	<u>4.6</u>
+	+	+	+	4.3	1.7
Total Variance Explained				<u>32.4%</u>	<u>27.3%</u>

ment and his early work experiences, have fairly strong effects on his occupational attainment during his thirties.

XIV: Summary

The findings of this report provide ample evidence of the importance of the period of entry into the labor force if we are to come to an understanding of the American occupational system. Of course, this statement has appeared many times in the literature over the past thirty years. With this report we have contributed more detailed data on the processes which make the entry period important--the chain of events involved in the conversion of class background into educational attainment, the effects of one job in a chain on its successors, and so on.

The strong statistical patterning to our findings does not immediately suggest that the entry period is one of uncertainty and "floundering." In a statistical sense, the data "hang together" enough to say that we can account for much of what we call success or failure. Of course, from the point of view of the individual going through the experience of entering the labor force, knowing full well that his first moves may set him upon a path toward career lines of, restricted mobility, the feeling of uncertainty and of "floundering" may indeed be very strong, and for good cause.

Our findings also cast some important light on the different ways in which social class background and race function in condition-

ing occupational attainment. We found that the primary role of class background was to affect markedly the respondent's access to education and also to a less important degree, to pre-entry work experiences. However, once the individual enters the labor market, the unique effects of social class background almost disappear, virtually all of its explanatory power being confounded with and hence mediated through the educational attainment of the individual. In contrast, race acts persistently throughout the entry period and continues to affect occupational careers throughout. Race is important in determining access to education and continues to exert a consistently strong effect thereafter. In every one of the tables presented, blacks are seen as disadvantaged compared to whites of the same educational attainment. This effect of race, moreover, grows in power as the individual spends more time in the labor force, so that whites and blacks are further apart in occupational attainment the longer they are working.

These findings provide evidence concerning the systematic way in which blacks are disadvantaged in the occupational system. They receive less education; while at school they have fewer opportunities to take on full-time or part-time employment; once they enter the labor market, they are less able to transform educational attainment into occupational attainment; the longer they work, the further behind whites they fall; and, finally, the higher the educational attainment of the black man, the worse off he is compared to whites with similar training.

These patterns add up to a massively discriminating occupational system, one which systematically provides less than equal treatment for blacks, even allowing for the poverty of their social backgrounds and their poorer schooling. This is one of the concrete meanings of institutional racism, a pattern of treatment whose outcomes may not be intended by any particular subsystem nor understood in terms of the prejudices of individuals, yet so pervasive that it can best be viewed as the output of the total society.

FOOTNOTES

The short excerpts at the beginning of this paper are taken from the following sources:

Davidson, Percy E. and H. Dewey Anderson. 1937. Occupational Mobility in an American Community. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. p. 39.

Reynolds, Lloyd G. 1959. The Structure of Labor Markets. New York: Harper and Bros. pp. 127-128.

Simpson, Richard L., and Ida Harper. 1962. "Social Origins, Occupational Advice, Occupational Values and Work Careers." Social Forces (March): 264.

Blau, Peter M., and Otis Dudley Duncan. 1967. The American Occupational Structure. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

¹Davidson and Anderson, op. cit.

²See Simpson and Harper, op. cit., Seymour M. Lipset, Reinhard Bendix, and Theodore Malm, 1955. "Job Plans and Entry into the Labor Market." Social Forces (March): 224-232; Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belistky. 1966. The Job Hunt. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

³George Stigler. 1962. "Unemployment and Job Mobility." Journal of Political Economy (October): 94-106.

⁴See Herbert S. Parnes, et al. 1969. Career Thresholds. Vol. I. Center for Human Resource Research (February), Ohio State University: 65-80; and Blau and Duncan, op. cit.

⁵See Simpson and Harper, op. cit.

⁶Blau and Duncan, op. cit.

⁷See Peter H. Rossi, Robert W. Hodge, and Paul Siegel. 1970, forthcoming. The Prestige Standing of Occupations; and Robert W. Hodge, Paul M. Siegel, and Peter H. Rossi. 1966. "Occupational Prestige in

the United States: 1925-1965." In Class, Status, and Power, edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset. 2nd ed. New York: The Free Press. pp. 322-334.

⁸Parnes, et al., op. cit.

⁹The sample target population was the total population of males 30-39 years of age residing in households in the United States. Individuals in the sample were selected by standard multi-stage area probability methods. The National Opinion Research Center drew the sample and conducted the interviews.

¹⁰The scale is essentially similar to the one used in Blau and Duncan (op. cit., pp. 165-166), which ranges from 0 to 8.

¹¹Carl E. Wisler, 1969. "Partitioning the Explained Variance in a Regression Analysis." A Study of Our Nation's Schools, edited by George Mayeske, et al., U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, A Working Paper, pp. 344-360.